David Thomson SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

THE Nation

September 10, 1955
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A SUMMIT FOR THE EAST

The Time Seems Ripe

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A German Vignette

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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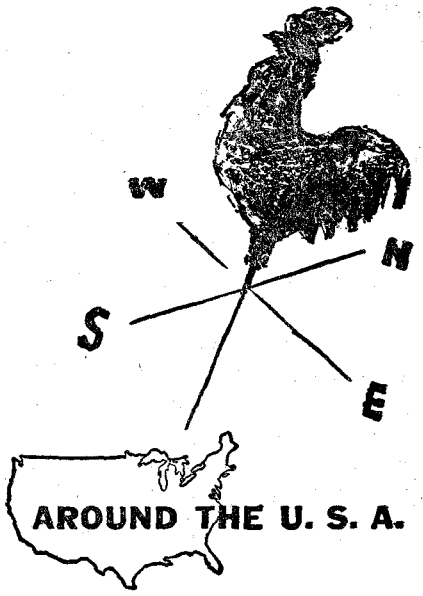

Iowa Corn Doesn't All Come on Stalks

Des Moines, Iowa

IOWA, a dry island surrounded by six wet states, is interested enough in the matter of drinking that news ordinarily considered more important is often crowded off the front pages by reports of a new argument concerning liquor. The confusion and heat aroused by the question were displayed in humorous fashion this spring when a "dry" lobbyist was "censured" by the Iowa senate for snooping on legislators whom he reported as participants in a "drinking party."

The Iowa liquor law, enacted in 1935, prohibits sale of liquor by the drink, but provides for sale of package goods by state-owned and operated liquor stores. Iowa law also permits the sale of beer, for consumption, in "public" places. Although the religious complexion of Iowa is predominantly "dry" (Methodism is strong here), the state does a $30,000,000 liquor business annually. As a consequence, Iowa politicians often find themselves confronted with problems involving liquor and temperance salesmen alike.

State primaries here are marked by pathetic campaigns to determine who is the driest gubernatorial candidate. These campaigns, waged partly in the letters-to-the-editor column of the Des Moines *Register*, frequently feature testimonials from prominent Iowa clergymen. A gubernatorial candidate is considered especially fortunate if he has the blessing of the Iowa Temperance League. Iowa's Republican governor, Leo A. Hoegh, had that blessing in the 1954 primary; when he ran in the general election that fall, he received further "dry" help from one Sam Morris, a prohibitionist, evangelist, and wealthy resident of San Antonio, Texas.

Morris maintains an interest in Iowa because he is president of the Preferred Risk Mutual Insurance Company of Des Moines, and because he is a field speaker for the National Temperance League. Three months after the election, unexpected business brought Morris scampering back to Iowa. He came to the rescue of a colleague, Harold Young, superintendent of the Iowa Temperance League.

Young, a "dry" lobbyist, had publicly charged two state senators, Republican members of the important "sifting" committee, with taking part in a drinking party in a private club in Des Moines. Seeing them in such circumstances, Young said, bothered him because he regarded this committee as one which had already displayed an "anti-dry" attitude. A beer-industry lobbyist was also reported to be among the group.

Young's charges irked certain senators to the point that even "personally dry" legislators condemned him. Senator Henry E. Heideman, a "personal dry," asked that "the name of Harold Young be stricken from the list of registered lobbyists, and that he be invited to remain away from here and that he be deprived from further activities in this chamber. . . ."

Heideman told the press that he thought Young guilty of "some indiscretion" in his lobbying. He said "we (senators) are tired of such . . . offensive . . . tactics," and added that the senate has some rights that "need to be protected against all comers."

Young was "censured" in this fashion by a unanimous vote. The action stimulated Sam Morris to hurry north from Texas. He immediately bought television and radio time for a fiery speech in which he accused the Iowa senate of "rushing through a smear censure" of Young. Morris interpreted the action as an insult to the Iowa Temperance League and an effort to "get Harold Young out of their hair on 'dry' bills." He charged that the senate had no authority over Young, who he said was not registered as a lobbyist. And he cautioned the public to be careful not to gossip about senators "huddling with brewers in a drinking club somewhere. . . . You may find your name in the paper as being censured by the 'unanimous' action of the senate."

The matter came to some sort of conclusion when Governor Hoegh, Lieutenant Governor Leo Elthon, Morris, and an unidentified senator gathered in Elthon's office and bowed in prayer for guidance.

The legislature didn't exactly rebel against "dry" pressure this session; neither did they accept the "dry" program as readily as they have in the past. The "drys" failed to get a law passed prohibiting the sale of chilled beer to "take home." Nor did they succeed in having the sale of beer prohibited at the state fair. They did succeed, however, in preventing a favorable vote on legalizing the sale of liquor by the drink.

The sale of liquor by the drink is backed by representatives of border counties and a corporation known as "Iowans for Good Government." They claim that such a law would bring an additional $15,000,000 annually to the state in license and tax fees. They further point to the common Iowa practice of taking package goods into taverns where "setups" are sold for highballs. As Professor Sam Fahr of the State University of Iowa law college, observes: "There is only one thing about this beautiful state that I don't like: Iowa is hard on coat pockets. I have ruined far too many suitcoat and jacket pockets by jamming bottles into them."

NICK THIMMESCH

[*NICK THIMMESCH is an Iowa newspaperman and free lance writer.*]

Notice to Readers

Due to a strike at the American News Company, some newsstand readers in the metropolitan area were unable to purchase copies of the September 3 issue. Copies can be ordered directly from The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, at 20c per copy.

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Peace Through Murder

Histrionic displays are almost a trade-mark of Latin-American dictators, but Juan Domingo Peron last week set a new record for the breed. Within a single day he submitted his resignation as President to the government-controlled labor federation and the Peronist Party, rescinded it at the overpowering demand of his followers who miraculously arrived in the capital just in the nick of time by buses, trucks, and special trains from all parts of the interior, and then turned the mob loose to defend "order" and "tranquility" in the streets. A few of his words should be set down for future reference: "Let us establish as permanent conduct for our movement: he who . . . tries to disturb order in opposition to the constituted authorities or contrary to the law or the Constitution may be slain by any Argentine. . . . The order of the day for every Peronist . . . is to answer a violent action with another action still more violent. And when one of our people falls, five of them will fall. . . . This fight we have started will not end until we have annihilated and wiped them out." In all the records of history it would be hard to find another head of government—particularly a dictator with every instrument of force in his hands—calling on the "people" to take over the job of defending the regime. This unique performance was followed next day by the imposition of a state of siege and Peron's newspaper announced, "Violence has now become constitutional."

The question why Peron staged this fantastic show is still without an answer. The two leading explanations diverge considerably. According to one, he wanted to prove to the dominant elements in the army, which had saved him after the June 16 revolt, that his mass support was so strong he could risk a popular demonstration; even submit his fate to the verdict of the "streets." The other is that the demonstration may have been organized as a warning to the opposition, military and political, that any new attempt against him would turn into a bloody civil struggle. That a serious opposition exists is now beyond question. Its weakness lies in its failure to reach the masses which Peron has rallied by his effective demogogy, backed by some tangible, though often illusory, benefits. Its strength lies in the growing diffidence not only in the navy—which engineered the June 16 rebellion—but in the army; not only among the upper-class right wing but among the moderate groups comprising the Radical Party; and above all among devout Catholics whose hostility, aroused by anti-church measures and arrests of clergy, has by no means been assuaged. Peron's aim—tranquility through murder—may lead into bloody chaos. It does not sound like the slogan of a secure regime. [In next week's *Nation* Arturo Frondizi, leader of the Radical Party, will analyze the aim of Peron's democratic opposition.]

Danger in the Middle East

A cease-fire has just put a temporary close to Israeli-Egyptian fighting along the Gaza border. The word "temporary" is used advisedly. These border clashes, small but dangerous in their potential, will inevitably flare up again—as they have been flaring up for the last six years—so long as peace in the Middle East rests on the insecure structure of an isolated Israel and a belligerent Arab world determined to take advantage of Israel's isolation. In this context, the most important Middle East development of recent weeks has been not the Gaza fighting, tragic as it was, but Secretary Dulles's tripartite plan, approved by President Eisenhower, for settling the basic Arab-Israel disputes. The scheme calls for (1) an international loan to Israel to enable the struggling new country to pay compensation to Arab refugees; (2) a call upon both sides to come to agreement on "permanent" borders; (3) "given a solution of the other related problems," the entry of the United States with other nations into formal treaty obligations, under U. N. auspices, "to prevent or thwart" either side from changing these borders by force.

The Arabs' quick if unofficial repudiation of the plan indicates that, whatever its other virtues, it is not practical. Its impracticality lies in the fact that the international guarantee against aggression would come into force only *after* the Arabs and the Israelis had agreed on the "other related problems"; i.e., the refugee question, the border problem, Jerusalem, etc. But if the Arabs and Israelis could agree on these questions, no outside guarantees would be necessary, though they might be advisable; and so long as the Arabs see a chance of destroying Israel, why should they want a "guarantee" which could hamper their objective?

Dulles's proposal makes good sense only if the international guarantee against the use of force by either side were to come into effect *before* the other problems were settled. Only then would the Arabs realize that

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border clashes, infiltrations, and assassinations by night will get them nowhere. Only when they are convinced that there is no profit in war will they sit down with the Israelis and negotiate a peace.

Needed: A Check on the A. E. C.

At *The Nation's* 90th Anniversary Dinner Forum on Atoms for Peace, Gordon Dean urged the Atomic Energy Commission to declassify with one bold stroke all power-reactor technology. The suggestion was timely and pertinent. But the day-to-day decisions and actions of the A. E. C. should also be declassified. At this last session, Congress was forced to enact a law, which required the commission chairman, Admiral Strauss, to give the other members of the A. E. C. equal access to information about agency business. Will it take an act of Congress to make this same information available to the public?

Recently the commission granted the application of the Mohawk Power Corporation, a private utility, for the first nuclear-generated electric power intended for commercial use, in preference to the applications of two municipally-owned plants and a rural electric co-op. This was done despite a guarantee of preference for non-profit groups which is supposed to apply in such matters. More recently, the commission granted the application of Commonwealth Edison of Chicago and the Detroit Edison to build reactor plants but denied the application of Consumers Public Power of Nebraska. The public has no way of knowing whether these decisions were wise or proper; the facts on which a judgment could be made have not been disclosed. At the earliest opportunity, the Joint Committee on Atomic Power should appraise the conduct and direction of its most important establishment, the Atomic Energy Commission, and make public all pertinent information.

Reluctant Ally

JAPANESE Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, speaking in Washington on August 26, said that the time had come for Japan to advance toward "a complete posture of independence." He had made his pilgrimage to the State Department in the hope of obtaining concessions which would strengthen Tokyo's position vis-a-vis both the restless Japanese people and importunate neighboring states. But the joint communique issued at the close of his talks revealed that Washington has agreed to little beyond a promise to talk some more on the subjects closest to his heart. Mr. Shigemitsu's mission proved more of a failure than a success.

Japan and the United States are sworn allies. The pact of March, 1954, was nevertheless not a union of true love, but rather a marriage of convenience. Japan was engaged in a struggle for survival and aimed at

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national renaissance; the United States was interested in constructing an *American* defense system in the West Pacific. The problems outstanding between the two countries are knotty ones. The United States expresses much heartfelt sympathy with Japan's galling economic burdens, but would not have Japan trade with "Red" China—or, be it admitted frankly, with the United States itself. Tokyo, in aligning itself with Washington, must fight the suspicion prevailing in the Orient that America wants Asian soldiers as cannon-fodder for its wars but would restrict its own war contribution to air and naval forces. The (conservative) Democrats in power in Tokyo, saddled with MacArthur's constitutional provision whereby Japan renounces "forever" war and its instruments, are irritatingly reluctant to commit more than a small fraction of Japan's budget to military purposes. The American garrison forces are becoming increasingly unacceptable to the Japanese. The country chafes in its position of subordination, and the Tokyo leaders considered that political exigencies demanded solace for hurt national pride. They are asking for the return of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands and seeking the release of "war criminals" whom the Americans had helped to put in prison. Mr. Shigemitsu furthermore suggested that the time had come for revision of American-Japanese security arrangements.

Washington, on its part, seemingly ignores what the U. S. S. R. and China might be able to offer Japan; it is largely indifferent to Japanese popular feelings; and, feeling the victor still, Washington has no sense of common purpose with Japan—except to oppose the U. S. S. R. and China. Shigemitsu hoped to convince Secretary of State Dulles that it was only through a partnership of equals, sympathetically formulated in terms acceptable in Asia, that the alliance could bear the desired fruits. But the philosophy of this Administration does not admit the lowering of tariff barriers even for nations jointly engaged with us in the battle for freedom's survival, and dictates that Asiatic alliances shall function chiefly on the military level. Washington abhors the bare thought of joining in a politico-economic give-and-take partnership in Asia, for it doesn't trust Asians to react to situations in the right, "American" way.

THE real urgency of the Shigemitsu mission lay in the circumstance that, at London, a Japanese delegation was negotiating with a Soviet delegation for peace—and for other things—and that Peking was ardently continuing a suit for Japan's favors. The Soviet and Chinese positions are strong. Shigemitsu obviously hoped to obtain some American concessions which would strengthen the Japanese negotiating position. He failed to obtain enough to force any Communist retreat.

When Premier Shigeru Yoshida visited Washington at the end of 1954 and failed to win the major aid he sought, he returned home in December only to resign. The present Premier, Ichiro Hatoyama, faces domestic and foreign problems as great as those that confronted Yoshida in 1954. The Soviet Union and China, patient and sure of their footing in Asia and not unaware of American ineptitude in that field, have not rushed forward with rich bribes to cause Japan to shift sides. But they are flexible, and when they fix upon a nice estimate of the required price, they can offer more than will Washington. They may choose to do so.

Whether under the Hatoyama government, or later when the anti-American Japanese Socialists may have become stronger, Japan will make its peace with the mainland of Asia because it must. If in the future the fearful cry goes up, "Who lost Japan?" the American obscurantists can look to themselves for the answer.

ADENAUER'S DILEMMA

Can He Trust the West? . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THE VISIT of Chancellor Adenauer to Moscow constitutes an important intermediate event between the summit meeting of July and the foreign ministers' conference scheduled to open here on October 27. The chiefs of state bequeathed the German problem intact to their ministers. The July talks revealed clearly that between the continued division of Germany on the one hand, and its neutralization on the other, it will be difficult to find an acceptable formula so long as the East considers German rearmamant a threat and the West looks upon a future German army as essential. People who talked to the Chancellor while he watched the progress of the Geneva talks from a vacation spot not too far away say that he was among the first to realize that one of the prices that may have to be paid for an East-West *rapprochement* is an indefinite postponement of German unification.

The Chancellor's conviction in this regard was sustained in the weeks following the summit talks when neither West nor East showed any change in basic attitudes on the German problem. Even before the July meeting President Eisenhower and Foreign Secretary Eden had both assured him they would not compromise their plans for German rearmament for the sake of an East-West *detente*. The Russians, on their part, made it clear both before and after the Geneva sessions that they would continue to lend unreserved support

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to the East German Pankow regime.

In view of this head-on clash, why did Adenauer insist that the question of German unification should be on the agenda of his Kremlin visit? In the first place, popular opinion in West Germany favors such a discussion. Secondly, he was doubtless looking forward to the October 27 meeting. Despite the British and American assurances, influential Western spokesmen are already challenging the value of West Germany as a piece on the world chessboard and questioning whether Bonn is worth saving at the price of a broad East-West understanding. By raising the question of unification in Moscow, the Chancellor is seeking to maintain the German problem at the very center of the October discussions.

THIS does not mean that Adenauer goes to the Kremlin with the illusion that he can wrest any concessions from the Russians on unification. Indeed, he looks forward to being disappointed. He much prefers the status quo to yielding Bonn's position within NATO and abandoning his present extraordinarily strong bargaining position. He prefers a known future in a divided land to an unknown future in a unified one. I remember a day during the Geneva summit conference when Marshal Bulganin stated firmly that it was "unrealistic" to talk of German unification so long as rearmament and the country's incorporation into the Western military alliance were demanded by the West. "What," a French correspondent asked a German colleague, "will the old fox Adenauer say to that?" "He will be delighted," responded the German newspaperman.

Marshal Bulganin

Chancellor Adenauer

As the day for his departure for Moscow approaches, the Chancellor is losing some of his earlier arrogance. For a long time he had been insisting that after four or five years of rearmament, West Germany would be able to negotiate "from strength" with the East. Once he told a visitor who asked him why the Russians had invited him to Moscow: "Ach, probably because since Stalin's death they have not seen a dictator." But now he is no longer so sure that time works on his side. In five years the situation in both East and West Germany could change considerably. The recent wildcat strikes in West Germany, which cut sharply into the country's rocketing production for world markets, were a warning that Bonn's prosperity might not last forever. If one day the Federal Republic's prosperity declines, and East Germany's increases with the support of Russia's growing economic power, the disparity between the living standard of the two zones will disappear and with it Bonn's chief propaganda weapon. So Russia may feel that time is on *its* side. Its leaders may calculate that by holding to their Geneva position—namely, that conditions are "not ripe" for German unification—the day may arrive when it will be very difficult for the Chancellor (if he is still around) to refuse a bilateral settlement with the Kremlin.

The Moscow visit will reveal how solidly grounded is the Chancellor's hope that Geneva provided only a transitory easing of East-West tensions. He may realize, of course, that nothing can bring back the worst days of the cold war, but hope that the *rapprochement* will prove to be only a limited one, sufficient to keep away the danger of war yet not sufficient to diminish the West's interest in fostering and maintaining the coming *Bundeswehr*.

HERE is a nuance worth careful watching. If Adenauer feels that he can continue to count on the West not only for moral but also for practical support in the rebuilding of the kind of army he wants, he will be satisfied to come home from Moscow with little more, perhaps, than an agreement on the return of German prisoners. In return he is prepared to make concessions in the field of Bonn-Communist commercial and diplomatic relations—except, of course, that he will try desperately and until the last moment to continue ignoring the Pankow regime. But if, on the contrary, he feels that the October 27 meeting will mark more progress toward an East-West *detente* along the path laid out at the summit meeting, he may turn to his illustrious predecessor, Bismarck, for guidance. It was Bismarck who established the principle that Germany, whenever it could not satisfy its national objectives in the direction of the West, should seek in Russo-German cooperation the way out of its difficulties and the road to greatness.

At the moment it would seem that the balance is in favor of continued Western support for the "old fox." Certainly Chancellor Adenauer had every reason to be pleased with the tough speech given by President Eisenhower before the American Bar Association in Philadelphia, and by Vice-President Nixon's demand, before the same audience, that the Russians prove the sincerity of their desire for peace by agreeing to free elections and the unification of Germany. But if the Chancellor was pleased, he was not surprised. For he had been informed some time earlier that "something will be done on the American side before the Chancellor's departure for Moscow to bring the Geneva conference back into a more sober perspective."

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THE HOLOHAN CASE

A Pentagon Snafu . . . *by Jesse Gordon*

ON A cool, dark night in September 1944, when the Fascist troops still held northern Italy, Major William V. Holohan, in command of an O. S. S. team, parachuted down on the slope of Mt. Mottorone, Lake Orta, near the Swiss border. In his musette bag he carried an estimated $100,000 in gold, United States currency, Swiss francs, and Italian lira. With him were two other American soldiers, Lieutenant Aldo Icardi, second in command, and Sergeant Carl G. LoDolce, the radio operator. "Operation Chrysler" was the code name given the mission. Their task was to give aid to the partisan groups fighting the Germans and to direct parachute drops of military supplies.

In the ensuing three months only one airborne drop was made. Then suddenly a radio message was received at O. S. S. headquarters in Siena, Italy, reporting the disappearance of Major Holohan on the night of December 6 during a German ambush of their hideout, Villa Castelnuovo, a stately twenty-two room summer house on the shore of Lake Orta. The message was signed by Icardi.

Thereafter, the story of the Chrysler mission unfolds as a bizarre and sickening episode of betrayal and murder. The story must include the callous and inept handling of the case by the Defense Department and its efforts to suppress it.

Almost six and one-half years later the Defense Department explained Major Holohan's death and disappearance as a cold-blooded murder by four of his comrades. However, the army knew as early as June 1946, in an official report to the Judge Advocate, MTOUSA, that Icardi's initial radio message and subsequent written statements were falsehoods. An army investigator's report to the Judge Advocate urged that the two American soldiers be kept in the army, since the study indicated that Major Holohan was murdered by his subordinates. This version of the facts was later backed up on all points by the confessions of three of the accused men and by

Major Holohan

the recovery of Holohan's poisoned and bullet-ridden body from the icy waters of Lake Orta, where it had been dumped on December 6, 1944.

The alleged ringleader of the plot, Icardi, has continuously denied his guilt. And the army, having suppressed the story for years, has kept maintaining that the men can not be legally prosecuted. In fact, Lawrence R. Houston, general counsel of the War Department, wrote to Major Holohan's brother on June 14, 1951, as follows: "We have done some research on this problem [of prosecution] and it appears to be conclusively established that no United States Court—civil or military—can take jurisdiction over the crime involved." Mr Houston also said that the Defense Department has twenty to thirty other cases which cannot be prosecuted for similar reasons.

Despite Mr. Houston's *obiter dictum* the Justice Department, in July 1955, announced it had convened a federal grand jury in Washington to reopen the case. Thirteen witnesses were flown here from Italy at the expense of the United States government on August 13 to determine whether Icardi and LoDolce can or should be tried in this country.

Soon after the first airborne drop it developed that Major Holohan was going to have difficulty in dispensing arms and equipment to the various partisan groups. There was friction and jealousy among the Communist, Socialist, Catholic, Royalist, and independent groups begging for arms. The first drop was scheduled for an independent group, but the supplies were snatched away by the most ambitious of the partisan leaders, Vincenzo Moscatelli, of the Red brigade. Thereupon Holohan said he would cancel all other drops unless his orders on the distribution of arms were carried out. Icardi disagreed with this cautious policy, and a conflict developed between the two men.

MAJOR HOLOHAN was forty years old, nearly six feet tall, a bachelor, tough and taciturn. He was graduated from Manhattan College in 1925, and Harvard Law School in 1928, and had served as an attorney of the Securities and Exchange Commission in New York and Washington. During this period he was a reserve officer in the 61st Cavalry Division and an ardent horseman. Lieutenant Icardi, 23, was a slim, wiry, bright-eyed law student from Pittsburgh, while Sergeant LoDolce, 22, the radio operator, was formerly a factory worker in Rochester. Apparently, the first mistake of the Chrysler mission was in picking Holohan for this assignment. He couldn't speak Italian, while both Icardi and LoDolce could.

The confessions of guilt by Lo-

JESSE GORDON, a long-time friend of the late Major Holohan, is a well known New York public relations counsel.

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Dolce and the two accomplices reconstructed the crime, and threw a lurid light on the case.

Shortly after headquarters were set up in Villa Castelnuovo, Icardi, contrary to military regulations, put on civilian clothes and began roaming around the Italian countryside, drinking in public bars and attending dances. This endangered the mission and Holohan ordered him to desist. The friction between them became fierce. It was at this time, according to LoDolce's confession published in the New York *Times* August 17, 1951, that Icardi and LoDolce recruited two partisans in a plot to kill Holohan. They were Gualtiero Tozzini and Giuseppe Mannini.

On the night of December 6, 1944, before Holohan came downstairs to dinner, LoDolce relates in his confession, Tozzini and Mannini slipped potassium cyanide into Holohan's soup. Becoming sick he went upstairs to his bunk. Icardi and LoDolce tossed a coin as to which of them would end his agony with a bullet from their Beretta 9-mm. automatic. LoDolce lost. He proceeded upstairs followed by Icardi, Tozzini, and Mannini, and when Holohan sat up in bed LoDolce pumped two bullets into his head. The two partisans then forced Holohan's lifeless body into his canvas sleeping bag, carried it to a boat on the shore of the lake, rowed out about a hundred yards, and dumped it into the water.

ICARDI then took command of the mission. During the next four months he radioed for fifty drops, including bazookas, land mines, light mortars, TNT, small arms, gold, Swiss francs, and Italian lira. In February, 1945, Icardi decided that LoDolce was suffering from a nervous breakdown and he radioed to O. S. S. headquarters that he was sending him home via Switzerland. In the same month the army sent a telegram to Major Holohan's brother, reporting him "missing in action." And in December 1945, another telegram came saying he was "killed in action."

However, Joseph R. Holahan (who spells his name differently because of a mistake in grammar-school records), the brother of the deceased major, questioned these official statements. He worked tirelessly to enlist the aid of Major General William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, former head of the O. S. S., and tried to get the army to make a diligent search for his missing brother. He quickly discovered he wasn't getting any cooperation. (In fact, he was not informed by the army when his brother's body was found.)

Meanwhile, Icardi had radioed to O. S. S. headquarters urging the Distinguished Service Cross for LoDolce, a medal second only to the Congressional Medal of Honor. After the war LoDolce received the medal, and later, Icardi was awarded the Legion of Merit. It is strange that the Defense Department accuses these men of murdering Major Holohan, but hasn't recalled the medals. And that Holohan hasn't even received, posthumously, the Purple Heart to which he is entitled.

Icardi also arranged to build a toy factory in Italy after the war in partnership with a partisan leader, Aminta "Georgio" Migliari. The factory was actually opened, but went bankrupt in a short time. Did the money for the venture come from the gold in Holohan's musette bag, which had vanished along with the officer in charge of it? The Defense Department eventually reported that Lieutenant Icardi "apparently had embezzled and converted to his own use a considerably large sum of money in gold currency entrusted to him by Major Holohan."

It was in February 1945, that Joseph R. Holahan received a mysterious phone call from a person who wouldn't divulge his name, suggesting that he call O. S. S. headquarters in New York to learn the true facts about his brother's disappearance. He followed the suggestion but could learn nothing.

The following year, Icardi, who had been corresponding with Joseph Holahan, even sending him Christmas cards—although they had never met—asked for a meeting with him in New York. At the dinner which resulted from this suggestion held in a New York hotel in February 1946, Icardi innocently told how the mission was ambushed by a German force, and how Holahan's brother disappeared the same night. And in August 1949, a man who identified himself as "Felix Fortuni," after having written a letter to Joseph Holahan, postmarked from New York, phoned to inquire whether he had received a letter from Italy from the former partisan Migliari, then swiftly hung up. Holahan hadn't received any letter from Migliari.

The first public exposure of the "disappearance" of Major Holohan appeared in *La Nuova Stampa* on March 29 and 30, 1950, a newspaper published in Turin, Italy. The newspaper reconstructed the slaying and accused four men, Icardi, LoDolce, and two unnamed partisans, who later turned out to be Tozzini and Mannini. The two partisans signed a confession implicating Icardi and LoDolce. The Turin newspaper credited the "break" to a young officer of the Italian Carabinieri, Lieutenant Elio Albieri, whose investigations led to the arrests. The New York *Times* of June 18, 1950, carried a brief story from the paper's Rome bureau telling of the arrests and reporting that two American soldiers were also involved. *Il Progresso*, Italian-language newspaper in New York, had earlier run a story naming the Americans. The stories ran and died.

IT REMAINED for an enterprising American newspaperman in Rome named Mike Stern, a former police reporter, to pick up the story and piece it together. His article appeared in *True* magazine in September 1951. When an advance copy reached the Defense Department it caused a furor. Hurriedly the top brass was assembled and they decided to release the names of those charged with Holohan's murder. By this tactic the Defense Department scooped Mike Stern's story before the magazines reached the newsstands. Ken Purdy, editor of *True*, termed this act "a shocking example of public . . . immorality."

In the Stern story, Lieutenant Albieri testified that he had fished Major Holohan's body out of Lake Orta on June 16, 1950. The body was inside the bedroll, preserved by the icy waters. Two bullets from a Beretta 9-mm. were in the major's skull, traces of cyanide in his intestines. Lieutenant Albieri mailed Holohan's wrist watch to his brother in New York, and buried the body in a civilian cemetery with Italian military honors, awaiting the action of the American authorities. Later, Joseph Holahan was to receive a bill for the funeral expense!

The army's Criminal Investigation Division picked up LoDolce in Roch-

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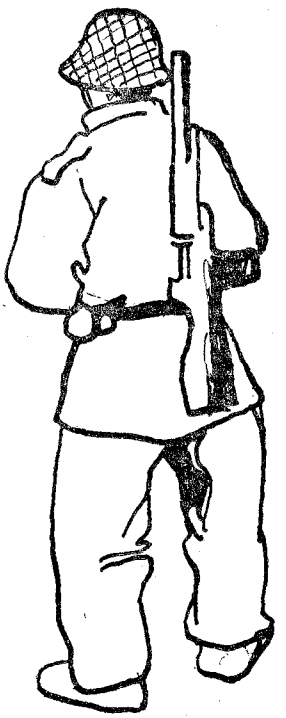
ester on August 3, 1950, and after a lie-detector test he signed a confession. It was released for publication on August 16, 1951, by the Rochester Police Department. *As late as a year after LoDolce's confession naming Icardi as an accomplice, Icardi had not been questioned by the army,* according to its own admission. When Italy asked for the extradition of those involved, Icardi, denying his guilt, asked the army for a court martial, or trial before a civil jury in the United States; but the army announced that it couldn't try Icardi even if he reenlisted.

Meanwhile, the American public was becoming aroused. Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York described the Defense Department's handling of the case as a "baffling performance." He asked for a probe, charging "truth suppression and cover-up." The New York *Herald Tribune* called the procedure "obscure and questionable," implying the Defense Department might be "hiding the truth for improper reasons" and demanding a "careful investigation." The *World-Telegram and Sun* in an editorial blast, Air the Holohan Case!, charged there had been something "strangely lax in the whole affair."

During this public outcry Major Holohan's body arrived in Brooklyn aboard the Navy transport Johnson, after two burials and two disinterments in Italy. Arrangements for final burial were made by the slain officer's friends in Gate of Heaven Cemetery, Pleasantville, New York. A Committee to Honor the Late Major Holonan was formed by fellow officers and civilian friends, including Brigadier General Charles E. Saltzman, former Under Secretary of State for Administration, Brigadier General John Reed Kilpatrick, and Brigadier General Alfred G. Tuckerman. Meanwhile, the Defense Department was denying any responsibility for the episode. A high spokesman said: "The Defense Department has suppressed nothing and has nothing to be ashamed of in this case."

In Verbania, Italy, on October 28, 1951, the Criminal Court there formally asked for the extradition of Icardi and LoDolce; and on January 31, 1952, the Italian Minister of State repeated the request to our State Department, although LoDolce had by this time disowned his confession as "incomplete and false." United States marshals arrested LoDolce—though not Icardi—on March 29, 1952, and on April 15 of the same year the State Department ruled that the Italian government had legal control over German-occupied northern Italy in 1944, a technical legal point which cleared the way for the extradition of Icardi and LoDolce. Four months later, however, a federal judge in Buffalo ruled that LoDolce couldn't be extradited because the alleged crimes had occurred at a time when Italy was "not physically in control" of the area involved. The New York *Times* commented: "The ruling had the effect of closing the case. But the mystery of Holohan's murder, and why the story was kept secret . . . remains." An armed-services subcommittee of the House of Representatives then reported that there was sufficient evidence to indict the two former United States soldiers for the Holohan slaying, but said that there was no legal way to prosecute them.



Nevertheless, the murder trial of the two partisans, Tozzini and Mannini, opened in Novara, Italy, on October 17, 1953, without Icardi and LoDolce present. A former girl partisan, Marina Duelli, had previously recounted a story of how she fled from Icardi to Switzerland in terror of her life. She charged that he threatened to kill her because she knew too much. Both Tozzini and Mannini were acquitted because "they acted out of necessity." Icardi and LoDolce were convicted in absentia. The verdict was handed down on November 6, 1953, by two judges and a six-man jury.

At the trial Icardi was pictured by witnesses as a behind-the-lines playboy principally interested in lining his pockets with the mission's gold. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. LoDolce who, witnesses said, fired the fatal bullets on Icardi's orders, received a sentence of seventeen years. They will never serve their sentence unless they return to Italy voluntarily. Tozzini and Mannini, the two partisan accomplices, were released. They had both spent nearly three years in jail awaiting trial. LoDolce's only comment was that he was "glad that it's all over." Icardi called the verdict "fantastic." Major Holohan's brother, who had steadfastly charged the Defense Department with "suppressing the facts," was pleased to learn that the Italian court had convicted the two former United States army men for his brother's murder, even if they could not be forced to pay the penalty imposed.

ON August 29 the federal grand jury in Washington concluded its investigation of the case and indicted Icardi on eight counts for having given false testimony before a House armed-services subcommittee in 1953. LoDolce never testified before the subcommittee and he was not indicted. The indictment itself—to which Icardi has entered a plea of not guilty—asserts that Icardi administered poison to Major Holohan at Villa Castelnuovo in Italy in December, 1944, and that LoDolce later shot him as he lay ill from the poison. Thus after a lapse of nearly eleven years, Icardi will finally stand trial—for perjury.

"Ordinarily," the Washington *Post* pointed out editorially, "it is unsatisfactory to press perjury charges based on testimony about a crime as a substitute for trial for the crime itself." But the facts in the Holohan case are unusual, The belated action of the Justice Department in reopening the affair is itself a victory for justice and common decency which, to say the least, have been lacking up to this point in this strange story of a fine American who sacrificed his life for his country.

The Charles C. [illegible]

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A SUMMIT FOR THE EAST

The Time Seems Ripe . . *by C. P. Fitzgerald*

Canberra

IT WAS inevitable that the happy atmosphere which prevailed at Geneva should arouse wistful longings for an Asian "summit" meeting to dispel the heavy war clouds that still lower over the western Pacific shore. Marshal Bulganin and Prime Minister Menzies of Australia—unexpected yoke-mates—were at one in regretting that Far Eastern issues could not be discussed at Geneva; though neither expressed any such idea, many others have suggested that the refusal of the United States to have diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic of China is the only stumbling block in the path of a peaceful settlement of Far Eastern issues. Should this be proven the case, there would be a heavy moral pressure on the United States to realign its position with China so that an Asian summit meeting could take place.

The Far Eastern problems which such a meeting could place under calm discussion by the ministers concerned are in reality only three: Korea, Formosa, and Indo-China. China's representation in the U. N., the embargo on trade with China, and such matters as the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu are all secondary and would be quickly resolved if the major problems yielded. At first sight these problems seem easier and fewer than those which separate Russia from the West in Europe. No great nation like Germany lies divided and prostrate between the rival camps; there is no cordon of Chinese satellite states whose populations pine for democratic freedom; China has no hydrogen bombs and its armies are not in direct and dangerous contact with those of the West in regions of vital significance to the latter.

But in actual fact the apparently simpler problems of the Far East are no less dangerous and no less difficult. Russia is not now seeking to extend Communist control into any European region which is free. China, on the other hand, has definite and firm claims to territory at present beyond its control; its minor allies, the Viet Minh, can expect South as well as North Vietnam to come under Communist rule if the settlements made at Geneva last year are carried out. In the West the Communists are being pressed to withdraw their power for the sake of peace; in the East the pressure for withdrawal is on the Western nations.

THERE is another significant difference between the situations with which summit talks can deal in Europe and in Asia. In Europe the United States does not stand alone; Britain is even more deeply committed to the defense of the West; to France it is a condition of its continued existence as a power. But in Asia, apart from still disarmed Japan, there is no major power that can be enlisted in any system planned to contain communism. India will not participate, Indonesia holds off, and even if these two geographically large states were wholehearted allies of the West their power would not be at all equivalent to that of Britain and France. SEATO relies on the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, such British force as can be committed to the Far East, Thailand, and the Philippine Republic. This means in practice that without America SEATO is nothing.

East Germany is more a burden which must be administered and defended than a real source of strength to Russia. But North Korea is an effective shield placed between China's vital industrial region of Manchuria and the only American forces deployed on the mainland of Asia. No one has suggested that Russia should renounce title to a territory of indisputable Russian character, but Chinese—all Chinese, Nationalist and Communist—firmly maintain that Formosa is a part of China, inhabited by Chinese, and inseparable from the mother country. Free elections in Hungary or Poland would very probably return a non-Communist government, but the great problem of Indo-China is precisely that the elections promised for next year are almost certain to endorse the Communist Viet Minh in overwhelming strength.

It is very improbable that any Asian summit meeting would result in the Chinese agreeing to allow Korea to be unified under a non-Communist government, to renounce their claim to Formosa, or to forego the elections in Indo-China. It can be argued, none the less, that if the main problems proved intractable, agreement and easing of tension could be achieved on lesser matters. After all, the Western summit meeting has not in fact resolved any of the outstanding problems of Europe; it merely created an atmosphere in which they can be discussed with more promise. It may be that a meeting which achieved the recognition of China and the seating of its delegate at the U. N., agreed to let Korea continue as it is, and won Chinese assent that its claims to Formosa should not be pursued with arms, would indeed change the whole atmosphere in the Far East.

The trouble, in that case, would be more likely to come from the small nations which American power now defends than from a conciliated China. Already the mere breath of future negotiation has fanned Korean intransigence to violence; far from accepting the division of their country as a needful sacrifice for general peace, the South Koreans now talk of regaining the North by force. They chide their American protectors and seek to upset the armistice agreement which ended the Korean War. If China renounced its intention to assert its claim to Formosa

C. P. FITZGERALD, on the faculty of the Australian National University, is the author of "Revolution in China."

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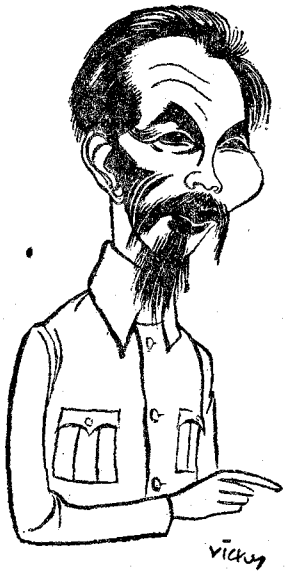
by force, in return for recognition and the U. N. seat, it would be renouncing a virtual military impossibility and gaining a major legal victory over the Nationalists, who would most certainly resent such a solution and do all in their power to frustrate it. They would perhaps engage in hostilities themselves in order to force a change of policy upon the United States. A very similar reaction may be expected from Mr. Diem if the powers which guaranteed the Geneva settlement in Indo-China try to implement the clause which calls for free elections next year.

It would seem, therefore, that the Chinese have every reason to be conciliatory, obliging, and accommodating. By a humbler mien the Chinese could win the good will of the non-aligned Asian powers. No one is asking them to give anything they now have; on the contrary the West is debating how much should be given up to them. Summit or any other significant negotiations to effect a Far Eastern settlement inevitably imply acceptance of the Peking government as the "other side" at the bargaining table, and any distinction which can be drawn between this and full diplomatic recognition is slight and will prove ephemeral.

ONCE THIS pill is swallowed, what are the prospects that the medicine will do any good? It would seem likely that China would be ready enough to leave Korea divided, since it could not hope, after all the sacrifices of the Korean war, that America would agree to abandon Syngman Rhee, however troublesome. The Chinese would have a further reason for doing this: under "democratic centralism" the discontent of the North Koreans at the division of their country does not seem to find any embarrassing expression, but clearly this is not the case in South Korea. China could watch complacently while America became involved in an unbecoming struggle with the regime on whose behalf arms had been taken up.

If the Chinese do agree to acknowledge that their claim to Formosa is only to be pursued peacefully, they will in their own eyes have made a major concession deserving an appropriate reward. That reward would have to be an Ameri-



Ho Chi-minh

can guarantee that Chiang's forces would refrain from hostile acts, evacuate the offshore islands, and in effect also admit that the Nationalist claim to be the true government of China preparing to reinvade the mainland is an idle dream. It is often suggested that if Chiang Kai-shek made any such public renunciation the morale of his forces would crumble, and many a mainlander in Formosa would see no sense in remaining in exile. To avoid any such debacle Chiang might be tempted to play the hero and defy the Communist lightning, counting on the backing he would get from some sections of American opinion, and knowing how embarrassing his role would be to an Administration which had at last come to grips with the China problem. The Peking government could very easily present its agreement to retrain from force in Formosa as a noble sacrifice in the cause of world peace; it would be the more willing to do so since in fact it could not now invade Formosa in the face of American opposition.

INDO-CHINA is the most difficult of these three problems. If the elections are not held because Premier Diem has obstructed them in the South, it would be possible for the Viet Minh to hold elections in the North, which would no doubt return Ho Chi-minh to power with an enormous majority. The Communist side could then claim it had carried out the Geneva agreement, but that the West had refused to make their protege do the same.

The Chinese could disavow any responsibility for the consequences of Diem's flouting of the "will of the people." Asian opinion would not approve any acquiescence in Diem's maneuvers, which are not admired. A renewed civil war would be the most probable outcome, but French opinion is unfavorable to Diem and France would not join in any fight on his behalf. Nor would China be likely to intervene to help Ho Chi-minh, partly because he would not need help, and partly because China could put the West in the wrong if it refrained from assisting its ally while we endeavored to support Diem.

Unfortunately the Western powers are not at all in agreement about the course to pursue in Indo-China—or if they have come to an agreement they have not seen fit to announce it to their peoples. It seems certain that the defense of Premier Diem, if he had refused to hold elections, would be so bad a cause that no government would be prepared to put it before the electors. Eighteen months ago the Western peoples showed a marked reluctance to go to war over Indo-China, and the record of confusion and violence which has been built up in the past year in South Vietnam is unlikely to inspire a change of heart. If Chinese assurances on Laos and Cambodia were to be given with any evidence of sincerity, the West would probably be ready to wash its hands of Diem.

In spite of all the minor inconveniences which could arise from a settlement of this nature in the Far East, the real strength of America's position in the Pacific would not be seriously undermined. Japan would remain, and would be perhaps more cooperative, and in the rest of Asia such striking evidence of American willingness to make concessions for peace would be a potent argument refuting the Communist propaganda which depicts the United States as ever anxious to interfere in the affairs of free Asia. Measures in restraint of Korean exuberance or Chiang's melodramatics might be unpopular at home, but they would gain America immense respect abroad. The free adherence of Asian peoples to the cause of democracy is the real barrier to communism, and this would be stimulated by a policy which accorded a great Asian people the status which it is due.

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SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

Key to Modern Politics . . . *by David Thomson*

Cambridge, England

DEMOCRACY today suffers from an inner conflict between its traditional ideology and its concrete experience. The purpose of this article is to suggest that both the origins of this conflict and a possible escape from it can be found in further extensions of the scientific spirit into democratic politics and government.

Democratic government, as it evolved in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the nations of Western Europe (preeminently France), was historically a product of interplay between certain expectations encouraged by eighteenth-century rationalism and the new social possibilities offered by nineteenth-century industrialism, commerce, and finance. Because both intellectual rationalism and the new industrialism alike met with stubborn resistance from the old political and social order, they grew together and found much in common. Freedom of speculation and freedom of enterprise seemed to go together; free thinking and free trade would jointly bring the millennium. And because theorists of politics and practitioners of politics were usually identical, the revolutionary movement of democracy was richly infused with the spirit of "scientific" rationalism. Hamilton and Jefferson, Burke and Paine, Condorcet and Sieyes, were political thinkers who engaged in active politics and the tasks of government.

TODAY the gulf between political theory and practice is vividly symbolized by the segregation of political philosophers and political scientists from the practitioners of politics. Since the days of Woodrow Wilson and Lenin few active political leaders have contributed much of note to political science, and few political scientists have become successful politicians. Democracy has even become allergic to "intellectuals" in politics, as evidenced by the distrust of Henry Wallace and Adlai Stevenson in the United States, of Andre Tardieu and Leon Blum in France, of John Strachey and Harold Laski in Britain. "Egg-heads" are suspect as politicians. But democracy owes its very existence to such undoubted "egg-heads" as Franklin, Paine, and Condorcet.

The expectations from social life and new modes of government which they encouraged found formulation in the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Behind the formulas of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression" lay the ardent desire of at least the politically effective classes in each country for a closer reciprocal relationship between government and people. This new relationship was to be attained by destroying outworn privileges and guaranteeing constitutional rights. There lay also the desire that economic activity should be released from inept political control. A democratic state was to rest ideologically on the assumption that most of its citizens were rational individuals, and materially on the assumption of the production of plenty through freedom of private enterprise. The machinery of government would be streamlined and efficient; but the scope of its action would be precisely and narrowly restricted.

The experience of democratic government during the next century belied and disappointed these expectations in many particulars. Freedom of economic enterprise brought abundance but did not end poverty. Constitutional rights came to seem formal and empty in face of the new extremes of economic inequality. The coming of full universal suffrage (a very recent event in many countries) did not subject governments to the rational wills of their citizens; on the contrary, powerful political parties arose led by astute managers and skilled demagogues. They exploited the new resources for irrational mass-suggestion and propaganda, and subjected public opinion to manipulation and stampede. State activity, far from being restricted to those basic minimum functions expected by early democrats, spread to well-nigh every sector of economic and social life. Indeed, elected governments which claimed to rest on mandates from the people suffered fewer impediments to untrammelled power than their "absolutist" predecessors.

THESE striking contrasts between expectations and events have their roots in two momentous forces which have transformed Western civilization. One is the enormous growth of population in Western countries since democratic ideology was first formulated; the other is the rapid advance of scientific knowledge and technology. The framers of democratic ideology never envisaged either the urban, industrial mass-electorates of the modern democracies or the vast technocratic structure of modern economies. These fundamental changes have consistently outrun adjustments in democratic principles and thinking, and have made them perpetually out of date.

Confronted with this situation, democrats have too often reacted in highly unscientific ways. They have indulged in wishful thinking, seeking refuge in comfortably optimistic assumptions—most strikingly in their attitude towards peace and war. Even in 1919 the hope was cherished that complete and universal democracy would bring peace automatically. Autocracy, aristocracy, and militarism were what bred war. Since people are inherently pacific, full democracy would be inevitably

DAVID THOMSON, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College and lecturer in history at Cambridge University, is the author of "Democracy in France," "World History from 1914 to 1950," and other books.

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"peace-loving," and democratic regimes would themselves be a guarantee of peace. That dream vanished when the highly democratic Weimar Republic produced Hitler and his totalitarian regime.

Optimistic democrats fell back on their second line of defense-mechanism, and proclaimed that the progress of science, with its devotion to human welfare and its strong internationalist traditions, would end the urge to war. Only with the manufacture of nuclear weapons has the truth dawned that scientific progress favors nationalism at least as much as internationalism. Synthetic chemistry makes national self-sufficiency more possible; nitrates made from the air demolish the interdependence of European agriculture and Peruvian trade in fertilizers; hydroelectric power compensates for national mineral deficiencies. The antinationalism of science is a myth, but a myth that dies hard.

BESIDES clinging to such myths, democrats have too often befogged their own expectations from democratic government by nursing theories and devices of government far beyond their term of usefulness. Truths known, or at least suspected, by political scientists have taken too long to penetrate. According to classical and traditional theory, the opinion of an electorate is formed in perpetual discussion and debate and finds basic political expression in the election of a legislative assembly of its representatives. This assembly then is charged with the dual function of passing appropriate legislation and of sustaining but criticizing an executive power, the government, which is in turn charged with the duty of conducting policy and enforcing the law. This classical theory still underlies the regimes of the United Kingdom, France, and to a large measure the United States. It is unreal and misleading in nearly every particular. Can a democracy stay healthy without a more actualist appraisal of how its own system works?

There is no real sense in which one man elected by universal suffrage in a large modern urban constituency can be said to "represent" the opinions, wishes or interests of all voters within that constituency, or even of a majority of them. Within the assembly of such "representatives," be it Congress, House of Commons, or National Assembly, he will at best keep in mind the interests of whatever happen to be the most powerful pressure groups operating in his constituency, so far as these can be reconciled; he will be conscious of what he believes to be the general prejudices of most of his supporters; he will be politely responsive to influential individuals. But much more will he be aware of his party's demands, his party leader's activities, his own reputation of eligibility for office.

IF HE BE a good and public-spirited politician, he will pay first attention to the needs of the national interest as dictated by events and circumstances quite unthought-of when he last made electioneering speeches, and still little appreciated by public opinion at large. Far from helping to frame legislation or policy enforceable upon the executive, he in fact participates in the shaping of legislation and policy which the government has decided that it wants, and which it will exact from the legislature by means of its party organization. Few active politicians can really believe the fictions of representative government; if they do they are probably unfit to be entrusted with the enormous responsibilities and power of a modern democratic state.

The essence of democratic government is no longer representation but responsibility, accountability, removability. What distinguishes multi-party from single-party states today is the supremely important fact that in one the government can be put out of power without violence, and in the other it cannot. The theory and the machinery of representative government have almost unwittingly achieved this valuable result; but their actual functions now are to make government responsible to the democratic electorates, not to make it representative. From the necessity of keeping governments changeable derive all the constitutional "rights" of freedom of speech and association, of public meeting and protest. To defend them in terms of this practical necessity rather than in traditional terms of "natural rights" is to strengthen them. On this basis one can rebut the argument that since "representation" is a sham, constitutional freedoms are worthless.

This need to re-focus the whole theory of democracy is reinforced by another basic change—the change in what is expected of a state in modern conditions. The modern state is expected to do a lot, and has equipped itself with the apparatus for fulfilling great expectations. To the traditional democratic demands of even-handed justice and the rule of law, personal freedom of conscience and association, and the other standard civic rights, have been added the expectation of efficient social services, a degree of economic and material security, the preservation of certain anticipated standards of living by policies of full employment, health services, housing programs, and the rest. It is above all the material achievements of science and industrial technology which have encouraged the belief that all human and social ills are remediable by human ingenuity, skill, and organization. The ever-widening frontiers of scientific knowledge have correspondingly widened the sphere of political activity.

NOR IS there much reason to doubt that these additional expectations can be fulfilled. Whatever material problems are susceptible of systematic analysis and investigation, of rational organization and skilled manipulation, are unlikely to be beyond the grasp of science. Even a social science such as economics has reached a stage where precise solutions can be devised for measurable problems. Political science still eludes the precisionists, and it might

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be fostering a new optimistic fallacy to suppose that democratic politics can ever be in this same sense "scientific." But even so, there is much that expert students of political science can contribute to the improvement of democratic government. At least democratic principles and doctrines can be made actualist. The conflict between ideology and experience can be diminished. And already there are signs that this is beginning to happen.

A MENDES-FRANCE preaching Keynesian economics in France, a Herbert Morrison writing scholarly studies of the British system of government, a Leo Amery publishing "Thoughts on the Constitution," are straws in the wind. Another sign of a new realism is the tendency of electorates as widely apart as California, Britain, and France, to look behind artificial party differences to common objectives which they insist that politicians of either party must pursue. In the last general election in the United Kingdom voters generally refused to get excited about alleged clashes of doctrine between the two parties. Instead they expressed a quiet resolve to preserve and consolidate post-war reforms in defiance of extremist back-benchers on both sides. Democratic politics are falling into the hands of moderate men, whatever their party affiliation. There is a new emphasis on reason and realism at the expense of doctrinaire ideals. If these changes are backed by efforts to re-educate electorates, to teach in schools and colleges an actualist approach to politics and world affairs in place of the antiquated "civics" too often favored in most Western nations, to restore the original affinities between the thinkers and the practitioners in politics, then we shall be moving in the right direction.

Science, too, may then no longer be treated with superstitious reverence and come to be seen in its essence—which is but a resolute and clear-sighted actualism, impatient of all that is fictitious or in conflict with verifiable facts, yet patient and humble-minded before the still immeasurable expanse of man's ignorance.

Intellectuals inspired by this approach can live down the accumulated distrust of their role in politics, and this, too, is necessary for better democracy. Stupidity and ineptitude can be as harmful in politics as downright dishonesty or ill will. No democratic country has a surplus of intelligence in its political leadership. The best antidote to communism, which is hampered by its attachment to an out-dated doctrinaire Marxism and a fanatically unscrupulous Bolshevism, is a more rational and effective democracy, linked to the actualist methods and spirit of science.

THEY SING OF LOVE

A German Vignette . . . *by Kay Boyle*

I HAVE been reading a novel that recently sold 70,000 copies in Germany, a book which the author himself describes as a "self-impeaching account of my own past. But the publishers hasten to assure the wary reader that the author, in his capacity as a lawyer during the Hitler regime, once almost saved the life of a condemned Jew. ("Now let us look into the mirror and dote on ourselves!" says Carl Zuckmayer's Luftwaffe General in his play, "Des Teufels General." "What noble human beings we are! That's how we look! Each of us with a Jew or two to salvage his conscience so that we can sleep at night!") The novel I have just read offers still another exit from the bloody scene of the mass crime, because the author's premise seems to be that if the everyday functions of a man's life are recorded in sufficient detail he is bound to emerge as a normal, comprehensible man—even as the touching figure of a man—in his individual helplessness before "modern collectivism." This is the excuse that was offered over and over by Germans in the years immediately following the war. "We are not a bad people. We were the victims of circumstances. We were perhaps weak, but who is not? We are no worse than other men," the plaint would go, and they did not ask for pardon, but for compassion, which alone could save them from the terrible indictment of history.

The novel in question was written by Gerhard Kramer, at present District Attorney of Hamburg, and the title of it, "We Shall March Again,"* was chosen both in pathos and in irony. How familiar the tone, the angle of approach, and the callousness shrewdly masked by sentiment! How well I came to know in my years in Germany the trick of draining the vilest evil of its power by the assumption that man has no recourse before the "overwhelming brutal forces" of the war machine! It is perhaps one of the greatest limitations that tradition has imposed upon the German mind—that the norm of human conduct be based on that of the lowest and weakest members of humanity, and not on those of the highest courage and spirituality, as is the case in France. The standards of conduct set in "We Shall March Again" bring to my mind one German family I knew well in the time I was there—from 1948 to 1953.

I spent hours, long evenings, entire days, with this family, not because of any love I bore them, but because I believed that here, in them, was the answer to what had taken place. They were wine-drinking rather than beer-drinking Germans, and they had a certain grace. The mother and father were dark-haired, they carried themselves like

KAY BOYLE's latest novel is the recently published "The Seagull on the Step."

* G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

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happy people, and they liked to sing. The children were all in their teens, the girls crowned with long, dark braids, very clean-looking in their simple dirndls, their manner forthright and gay. The boys were hard-working, and extremely curious concerning other peoples and other countries. They collected photographs of monuments, mostly German and English and nothing exotic. They kept their shoes handsomely polished and their bicycles gleamed like silverware. It was all so normal, so natural, their days of work, their evenings of song, but almost immediately one felt that their good nature, their industriousness, had a metallic veneer. Their voices stuck a chill to the heart as they sang the Lorelei and other songs in the dusk looking over the river, rendering the insidious German songs of love that bewitched men with the power of their own invulnerability, and lured them in the end to death. As I sat with the members of this family, it seemed to me that the concentration camps, in which they did not believe, cast a shadow upon them so profound that their lives were lived in the eternal dark.

THE father had been with the Wehrmacht during the occupation of Paris, and had worked as a cook in an officers' mess just off the Concorde, and he liked to tell of the bits of food he had slipped in winter to the French children who waited outside the kitchen door. "*Vati* always loved children," his wife would say, looking with sentiment across the table at him, and she would go on saying: "The hearts of all good men are the same, no matter what nationality they are. And one military occupation is like another, always the poor men taken out of their homes, away from their families, and put in uniform, hurting no one unless it's forced upon them *Vati* never raised his hand against anyone at all." Once he had come across two bags of potatoes going bad in the kitchen of the officers' mess, and although the potatoes were not all bad, he reported they were unfit for human consumption so that he could slip them to the French children waiting at the door. Every time he had drunk a certain number of glasses of wine, I could see him getting ready to tell the story again, no matter how many times he had told it before. It was as if the faces of the French children were distinguishable in the bottom of the glass, and every time he finished drinking the wine, he would have to quickly fill the glass up again so that their faces would not be there. "They weren't terribly thin," he would say. "I've seen children just as thin as that in certain quarters of Berlin," and he and his wife would contrive between them this figure of the German army cook as symbol of the universal, charitable, average man.

This was a strange characteristic of every member of the family: they never called anything, either act or emotion, by its rightful name. When they talked of *Vati* being arrested in Frankfurt in 1946 by the American military police, they did not speak of *Vati's* act as theft. The Americans had found a bottle of cognac in his tool-bag under the saddle of his bicycle. It was a present a GI had given him, and he was taking it home, but the GI had denied it when *Vati* gave them his name. That was the way the Americans would let you down, they said. And the photographs of men starved to the framework of skeletons and stacked, one upon another, like kindling, in the courtyards of the Nazi concentration camps, *Mutti* and *Vati* said these were not photographs at all. They were something as phony as a Hollywood set, produced by American theatrical sleight-of-hand.

The German soldiers had even been loved by many of the French, *Vati* would say as we sat in a wine garden in the evening, under the flowering trees. There would be glow-worms in the grass, and *Vati* would say that he had heard there were no glow-worms, but only fireflies in America. Even the French family he had known so well in Neuilly during the war had thought it strange that the Americans, with all their variety of climates, had night insects that gave only a flickering, intermittent light, while the Germans had the glow-worm that burned so quietly and steadfastly.

"The Pinceau family were very good to *Vati* while he was stationed in Paris," *Mutti* said. "He was billeted in their apartment, and he used to slip cigarettes and coffee and things like that out of the officers' mess to take home to them at night. All military occupations are just alike," she would say in comfort, perhaps hoping that the corpses would at last lie still; "the Germans in France, the Americans in Germany, the GIs troublesome sometimes because of the gangster films they see, but the hearts of men everywhere are just the same."

"In the village I lived in in France in 1941," I said, "the boys were taken out of the classroom, and carried in trucks to Lyon, and shot against a wall. My daughters had gone to school a long time with them. They were fifteen and sixteen years old, and I can tell you their names if you would like to hear. They had sabotaged a German convoy of trucks slit the tires at night, and so they had to die."

EVERYONE sat quiet at the table, so still that we might have been waiting to hear the echo of the shots ringing out. Nobody lifted his glass of wine, nobody stirred, and then I saw the tears coming slowly down the German woman's face.

"Is it true, then, that we are not like other people?" she whispered, looking straight into the dark beyond the trees. "Is it possible that we are different from everybody else?" she whispered, and her tears fell one by one, as if each were the coin of a cruel and exorbitant ransom that she must finally pay.

Once, when I went to Paris for a weekend, *Vati* gave me a bottle of Moselle to take to Madame Pinceau in Neuilly. "Tell her I still think of them all, and that some day I'll be back to see them," he said. He could not understand it when I told him that Madame Pinceau had put the bottle back in my hands, and closed the door. I must have rung the wrong doorbell, he said.

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BOOKS

The Unchristian Crusades

By Kenneth Rexroth

RECENT years have shown a considerable and apparently growing interest in the history of the Crusades. Presumably this represents an urge to understand more fully the Near East and to establish the present relations between cultures which call themselves Christian and Moslem on a sounder basis.

The first major work to appear was R. Grousset's "Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem," three volumes, Paris, 1934-6, and "L'Empire du Levant," Paris, 1946. Perhaps Grousset provoked his successors into writing their books. Any non-partisan would find it almost impossible to believe his eyes as he reads. Even at its highest levels of scholarship it is obvious that French chauvinism has forgotten nothing and learned nothing.

There are many theories and interpretations of the Crusades, but to the best of my knowledge, Grousset is the only person in modern times who "believes" in the Crusades themselves. As a chauvinist, he occupies a position considerably to the right of his predecessor, Monsieur Villehardouin—the crusader-historian. When you encounter his first statement about the civilizing effect of the Crusades, you think you have forgotten your French and have subject and object mixed up. But he really means it. These Frankish brigands, illiterate, filthy, thieving, and murderous, brought the *clarte* of France to the benighted Orient! It is shocking to realize that such dangerous misconceptions are not only loose in the world today, but are held by scholars of renown, who in turn misguide statesmen and soldiers.

The first outbreak of folly after the first World War was the shelling of Damascus. Years ago van Paassen said it was the leak in the dike of international order which brought the deluge. Grousset's history of the Crusades is a mythical substantiation of the French sphere of influence in the Levant—an historical romance justifying the shelling of Damascus, and the extraordinary behavior of the French in Syria in the second World War, as well as, of course, the follies now being enacted in North Africa.

Were I a historian I would certainly have sat down and written a history of the Crusades after reading M. Grousset's. Possibly that's what happened. Steven Runciman's "A History of the Crusades," (three volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1954-55) has all the earmarks of an historical classic. It is judicious, even-tempered, exhaustive, and completely informed. Historians are always partisan in some degree. Mr. Runciman, as the citizen of an empire which is voluntarily withdrawing from the Orient and which has had a long history of friendly relations with various Moslem powers, can hardly be said to be pro-Crusade. It is true that he always speaks well of British intervention in the Holy Land, but then the English really do seem to have comported themselves with remarkable sense, tolerance, and chivalry. Again, as an Englishman, he is mildly anti-Papal. You feel that of all the people who played a part in the long and pointless drama, the nation he is most sympathetic with is Byzantium; the individual, the Emperor Alexius Comnenius.

But what makes Mr. Runciman's history great is style and temper. In writing of the Crusades it is all too easy to raise one's voice. Runciman never departs from a well-modulated, Cantabridgean tone. This calm may be saturated with irony, but it is never ruffled by it.

To me there is only one flaw in this beautiful example of historical equanimity and that is the treatment of the Roman Emperor Frederick II. It is easy to make the claim that Frederick II was the most civilized Western man between the death of Boethius and the episcopacy of Robert Grosseteste. From his court came Thomas Aquinas, the first sculptors of the Renaissance, and the founders of Italian poetry. He accomplished more in the Holy Land than almost any other potentate and he did this without fighting at all. Runciman seems to dislike him intensely, because he was hardly a pious pilgrim. In fact, he was a cynical atheist. True, he became one of the great Nazi heroes, but so did Bach and Goethe. No one thinks of holding Francis Bacon responsible for the follies of the Baconians. I am really at a loss to understand why the judicious Runciman should lose his temper because Frederick made some cynical remarks to his Moslem hosts during his tour of the Holy Places. I am sure I do not believe, and neither does Mr. Runciman, that Christ was buried on the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or that Mohammed ascended from Jerusalem to Heaven on the back of an hippogriff with the face of a woman. And I do not see why Frederick should be taken to task for sharing our skepticism.

OTHERWISE the book is a sheer joy to read. Possibly this is due to the fact that although the Crusades were an episode of almost unparalleled hooliganism, they really did not do a terrible lot of damage. Offhand I can think of only one comparable outburst of historically important criminality—the destruction of Peru by Pizarro. But here a great and noble civilization was destroyed in a matter of weeks by a gang of thugs, and the population was given over to murder and slavery for 500 years. The Crusaders did less damage.

The Crusaders were able to penetrate the Holy Land in the first place because they were drawn into a vacuum. The Abbasid Caliphate was in an advanced state of decay. Egypt was independent and unstable. The countryside between Bagdad and Cairo was given over to small, short-lived Turkish principalities. From Damascus to the Red Sea lay an area of little interest to anybody except the religious enthusiasts, thieves, wanted men, and masterless knights whom Europe was delighted to get rid of. If no large numbers of people get badly hurt, there is a certain smug pleasure in reading a

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KENNETH REXROTH, author of many books of poetry, will bring out this year translations of Japanese, Chinese, Greek, and French poems. He conducts a radio book-review program over San Francisco radio station KPFA.

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story of human stupidity, larcenous folly, and just plain foolishness.

Then again, although Mr. Runciman does not point this out, every movement of troops, from the beginnings in Europe to the pettiest conflicts between Tyre and Ascalon, had in their day not just an ideological justification, but a theological one as well. The Baldwins and Bohemunds of Antioch and Jerusalem never lacked preachers and scholars to justify the bloodthirsty vagaries of their policies. No one today except, slightly, M. Grousset, gives a continental for these justifications, so the record of brigandage stands clear of its ancient vestments. It is a consolation to know that in 500 years, if there are still civilized men on the earth, our own capers will be appreciated on their merits and not in terms of their present justifications. This, I suppose, is the most one can learn from a study of the Crusades, because, as Runciman points out, it is not true that they formed an important point of culture contact between East and West. Culture exchange in the late Middle Ages flowed largely through channels kept open by the Italian trading cities, and although the nonegenarian Doge Dondolo, allowed the savage horde of Crusaders to sack Constantinople, by and large the merchant princes of Italy looked on the Crusades much as you and I and Frederick II.

ON THE other side the effects were more serious. The Moslems learned the meaning of the word "crusade" in little more than a generation, and it did not take them long to fight better ones. The Crusades produced the Jihad—the Holy War—and closed the windows which Islam had kept open to the West. From Nur-ed-Din to Jinnah or the present regime in Yemen, Western civilization has paid the penalty for its brief adventure in the Crusades. And Islam has, of course, paid the terrible price in the slow death of its civilization due to rabid xenophobia and religious bigotry.

Furthermore, the Crusades to the Holy Land made possible other "crusades" in Europe. It was one thing to turn a bunch of highwaymen loose in the desert marches between Bagdad and Cairo. It was another thing altogether to turn them loose in the cultural heart of Europe. The Albigensian Crusade was patterned directly on the Eastern ones. It was fought by the same kind of men. But it was fought in the most civilized part of the world west of China, not for religion but for loot, and it destroyed the culture of Provence.

Similarly there were many to give religious justification to the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade—in other words, to call it "a crusade against the schismatics"—yet this was certainly one of the real disasters of history. To speak in contemporary terms, there is no evidence that Al Capone and his friends made the eating of pizza at midnight suppers popular in America, and there is plenty of evidence that they set a bad example to the youth of the land.

There is just one aspect of Christian-Moslem contact in the period, to which Runciman gives pretty short shrift—and that is what might be called the occult tradition as it is perpetrated in the mythology of Freemasonry. If the Templars and others brought back to Europe a secular, rational deism which they had learned from sects like the Assassins, Europe gained. Historians shy away from questions as to the authenticity of the confessions of Jacques de Molay and his companions, but I for one should like to have seen a more extensive discussion of the case. Certainly there are today reputable scholars who believe that there is more in the mythology of Freemasonry than unadulterated myth.

The chapters on the fall of Jerusalem are a real masterpiece comparable to Gibbon's sonorous and ominous "last gloomy hours of Theodoric." One of the great dramas of history is the crumbling of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The king, Baldwin the Fourth, was a brave, wise, and slowly dying leper. His vassals were criminal psychopaths. Europe had lost interest in his fate. His opponent was Saladin, the greatest personality to emerge from the whole period. It is the Wasteland, the Grail Castle, and the Fisher King come to life, and Mr. Runciman makes the most of his opportunity with some really noble writing.

Immediately upon the completion of Mr. Runciman's work, a committee of scholars under the editorship of Kenneth M. Setton started publishing in America "A History of the Crusades" (five volumes, University of Pennsylvania Press: Volume I. "The First Hundred Years" $12). One of the principal contributors is Mr. Runciman himself, who handles the narrative section of the first crusade. There are chapters by all the best authorities. Sir H. A. R. Gibb, for instance, contributes several chapters on the Islamic world of the time, and there are others his equal in scholarship if not in fame. There is, for example, the story of the Turkish invasion and the Selchukid Kingdoms by Claude Cahen—the only thing I have ever read on the subject which was not horribly confusing. It is a gem of lucid historical narrative.

There is a chapter by Bernard Lewis on the Ismailites and the Assassins which is packed with information for Western readers, who by and large know nothing of the difference between Shiite and Sunnite Islam. In fact, this chapter is the best discussion of the more extreme forms of Shiism ever written, and it is exciting to know that Mr. Lewis has in preparation a full book on the subject.

THERE is only one trouble with a committee history and that is, of course, its impersonality. It is difficult to imagine anyone reading one of the great Cambridge histories with the same pleasure he would get from Froude or H. G. Wells, let alone Thucydides or Gibbon. But, like the "Cambridge Medieval History," this collection is so full of new information, detailed background, and what are called odd byways, that it would be niggardly to quarrel with it. All the announced volumes promise to be equally interesting, although there is one which I must say I await with some trepidation: Volume IV, "Civilization and Institutions," is to be edited by Jeremiah O'Sullivan of Fordham University. Harboring a low opinion of the civilization manifested in the Crusades, I have to be convinced that a professor at Fordham University is best qualified to handle such a subject. Anyway, Professor Setton's committee history is exciting reading—a different and lesser excitement. Mr. Runciman's history is a classic. The other is a great reference work.

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On the Sands of Egypt

THE PICNIC AT SAKKARA. By P. H. Newby. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00.

By Carlos Baker

THE WORD "picnic" in the title of P. H. Newby's highly entertaining novel about the British in Egypt is used partly in the military or ironic sense, as one might say, "We had quite a picnic at Iwo Jima." His hero, Dr. Edgar Perry, teaches English in the Faculty of Arts at what was known in pre-Nasser days, circa 1946, as King Fouad I University. Since then the name has become Cairo University and British pedagogues like Perry have been driven into academic exile by nationalist forces. Newby catches his professor just before the beginning of the end.

The end, or climax, is marked by another kind of picnic, a real one, at Sakkara among the tombs of Egypt's past greats. This is arranged by Egyptian students as a reward to Edgar for his noble but adventitious campaign to get them better living conditions in their scrawny tenements at Gizeh. "What," asks Edgar's wife, who is on the point of divorcing her husband, "is an Egyptian picnic like?" "Cold chicken," bellows an enormous student named Ahmed Mansour, "tomatoes, cheese, boiled eggs, bananas, dates, oranges, bottles of beer for the Christians, and coffee. . . . We smoke cigarettes and play cards."

BUT THERE is more to the picnic than cardplaying and cold chicken. Under the skin of colonial life in Cairo lurks the fanatical nationalism of the Moslem Brotherhood, sinister enough in a comically insane fashion to provide Newby's book with a stiff undercurrent of melodrama. This undercurrent, set and kept in motion by a contradictory character named Muawiya, sweeps Perry into and out of the maelstrom of Egyptian politics long before he has time to finish his lecture on suppressed sexuality in George Eliot's "The Mill on the Floss." People familiar with the Egyptian scene since World War II may suspect that Muawiya is meant to embody that necessarily odd combination of love for the British and determination to drive them out which produces a queer parallel between post-war Egypt and eighteenth-century America.

Readers of such previous novels by Mr. Newby as "The Young May Moon" and " A Season in England" will recall his evocative powers with the atmosphere of place, and his adeptness in the presentation of the humor of character. They will also remember his capacity for skirting the edge of the incredible. Having taught in Cairo after the war, he knows from the inside the place, the people, and the incredibilities. His novel therefore provides a vivid dramatization of the conflict of Middle East and middling (or muddling) West. Newby's forte, like his locale, lies somewhere between the villa-comedy of Douglas's "South Wind" and the often touching clash of ethnologies found in Forster's "A Passage to India." But his forte is his own and he knows how to defend it.

CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

Mendes-France's Economics

ECONOMICS AND ACTION. By Pierre Mendes-France and Gabriel Ardant. Unesco-Columbia University Press. $3.50.

By Douglas F. Dowd

HIGH IDEALS, good will, and the desire to build a better world are not in themselves enough, unless they are accompanied by scientific technique, without which the best of intentions founder. It is, of course, the rulers who must be imbued with these ideas. But it is impossible, in a democratic world, to convince the rulers without first winning over those to whom they owe their power." Thus ends this short (222 pages) but useful primer in economics. Initially, one's curiosity about the book is and should be aroused by the past, present, and future positions of the authors. (Ardant is General Commissioner for Productivity in France; should Mendes-France again become Premier, it would doubtless be with increased power). Seldom are we enabled to gain a systematic view of leading statesmen's notions of political economy. Seldom, indeed, do such men *have* systematic notions which could be placed on view without embarrassment.

If this were the only function served by the book, it might properly be classified as a curiosity piece. But it happens also to be an intelligent and intelligible introduction to political economy. Specifically, the authors deal with two major aspects of economics: (1) the factors determining the level of employment, production, and income; (2) "the problem of choice" (i. e., alternative means and criteria for determining the allocation of scarce resources as between competing patterns of consumer and capital goods). In the process an enormous amount of ground is covered: the development of economic theory, and the context in which it developed; the degree to which theories have been put into practice, and their success or failure.

Inevitably, the combination of a short book covering territory as broad and deep as this, as the authors are well aware, "runs a double risk—either of treating certain data over-summarily and thus making them appear, wrongly, as if they were obvious, or of dwelling at excessive length on arguments that are already well established and familiar." Mendes-France and Ardant have come to grips with this dilemma as well as might be expected. It may be worth pointing out that the general position of the authors seems to be in keeping with, certainly not ahead of, their times—i. e., "liberal Keynesian" on the employment question, and leaning toward the welfare state on the question of market policy. It may also be true that in order to keep up with the times, in a meaningful sense, one has to be at least slightly ahead of them.

This is the first of a new UNESCO series, entitled "Science and Society," which will "endeavor to show how the resources of knowledge can alter and correct the so-called fated course of history." The series has begun well.

DOUGLAS F. DOWD is assistant professor of economics at Cornell University.

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Selected New Books

European History

THE THIRD REICH. Edited by Maurice Baumont, John H. E. Fried, and Edmond Vermeil. Praeger. $9. Under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and with the aid of UNESCO, twenty-seven European and American historians and social scientists here survey in 900 pages the nineteenth-century precursors of Nazism, the Nazi movement itself, and various aspects of the Nazi regime. This is unquestionably the most erudite and comprehensive symposium on the subject published thus far. The contributions range from competent to brilliant. Many of these intellectuals, however, tend to over-intellectualize a movement which, in its atavistic primitivism and psychotic nihilism, was a total repudiation of all intellect.

VICHY: POLITICAL DILEMMA. By Paul Farmer. Columbia. $5.50. An able historian, aided by the Institute for Advanced Study, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of Wisconsin, here reconsiders (sans footnotes, but with an annotated bibliography) the Petain-Laval-Darlan regime which "ruled" France, 1940-1944, under Hitler, for Hitler, or against Hitler, depending upon one's value-judgments. The author tells his story well. But he seems unfamiliar with the dynamics of fascism, in France or elsewhere, and is so devoted to "objectivity" that he can never quite make up his mind as to whether the Vichymen were fools, tools, patriots, or scoundrels.

FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION. By Rudolf Coper. Cambridge. $5. A participant observer, reinforcing his memories with intensive research, retells in vividly dramatic prose the tale of the German "revolution" of 1918-19—in which the bankruptcy of Social Democrats, the weakness of liberals, the intransigence of nationalists, and the blindness of Communists all cancelled one another out and made the Weimar state a republic without republicans. These pages offer a gripping account of the politics of frustration and fresh evidence that the soul-sickness of Germany is a tragic and permanent concomitant of our time.

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION: An Outline of Strategy and Tactics. By Harold H. Fisher. Stanford. $1. This Hoover Institute study, written by its chairman, is only eighty-nine pages long, including a sixteen-page bibliography. It is nonetheless a masterpiece which ought to be "required reading" for all. If you want the sanest, most perceptive, and most illuminating brief treatment ever written of the theory and practice of communism, of the nature of the Communist challenge, and of what is relevant and irrelevant, helpful and harmful, in meeting the challenge, this is it.

NATO: THE FIRST FIVE YEARS, 1949-1954. By Lord Ismay. Distributed by Acme Code Company. $2. The Secretary General here gives us an excellent account, replete with documents, chronologies, charts, and maps, of the history, structure, and achievements of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Most Americans may be surprised to learn that Lord Ismay (and many of his fellows in Britain and on the Continent) are less interested in NATO as an anti-Communist military coalition than as a means of promoting "a healthy Atlantic Community offering conditions of greater well-being and happiness to all its citizens."

RENAISSANCE DIPLOMACY. By Garrett Mattingly. Houghton Mifflin. $6. The talented author of "Catherine of Aragon" (1941) has written a learned and scintillating analysis of the origins of modern diplomatic practice in medieval Europe, the Italian state system of the Renaissance, and the larger European state system of the seventeenth century. This is not only a superb piece of historical research but an exciting and useful contemporary reminder of what the business of diplomacy is about.

THE HOLSTEIN MEMOIRS. Volume I. Edited by Norman Rich and M. H. Fisher. Cambridge. $5. Friedrich von Holstein (1837-1909) was a subordinate of Bismarck, a German diplomat, and an influential official at the Wilhelmstrasse from 1890 to 1906, long described as the "evil genius" of pre-1914 German foreign policy. His private papers are at last available for publication. The "Memoirs and Political Observations" are here presented (and magnificently edited), with volumes of diaries and letters to follow. Holstein emerges as a shrewd and sensitive statesman, frustrated in his highest hopes not by greed, ambition, or blindness but by pressures beyond his control. This raw material of diplomatic history is highly readable and well worth reading.

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1905-1917. By Carl E. Schorske. Harvard. $5.50. In this most recent volume of the Harvard Historical Studies, Professor Schorske of Wesleyan offers a detailed and penetrating reassessment of the schisms among German Social Democrats which, long before 1914, foreshadowed the civil war of 1918-19 between Socialists and Communists, condemned the German labor movement to initial impotence and subsequent Nazi enslavement, and even today reduce the East German Communists to the role of hated tools of an alien conqueror and the West German Socialists to futility. The tragedies of Marxism are no less momentous than its triumphs. Schorske has dissected with the sharpest of scalpels the most poignant and persistent of the tragedies.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.

Sociology

THE TYRANNY OF PROGRESS. By Albert Salomon. Noonday Press. $3. This provocative essay poses a direct relationship between the ideas on progress of the founding fathers of sociology in the nineteenth century, Comte and Saint Simon, and the twentieth-century concept of totalitarianism.

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AUTOMOBILE WORKERS AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. By Ely Chinoy. Doubleday. $3. A young social scientist presents and interprets interesting findings on what the American dream of opportunity has come to mean in the lives of Midwestern automobile workers.

NATIONAL MINORITIES: AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. By Inis L. Claude, Jr. Harvard. $4.50. The incompatibility of nationalism and national minorities is the premise for this definitive study of international solutions of the problem beginning with the League of Nations and ending with the U. N.

HAMTRAMCK—THEN AND NOW. By Arthur Evans Wood. Bookman Associates. $4. A veteran sociologist traces the relentless evolution of a much-maligned Polish-American community from cultural conflict and social disorganization toward integration and stability.

LANGUAGE IN CULTURE. Edited by Harry Hoijer. Chicago. $4.50. Scholars from several disciplines explore the Whorf hypothesis that language more than merely expressing ideas, shapes culture. These esoteric papers on the "hidden metaphysics" of language are not for the lay reader.

REEDUCATING THE DELINQUENT. By S. R. Slavson. Harper. $3.75. The author skilfully recounts how his program of psychotherapy and group therapy through freedom, status, participation, and responsibility have reoriented delinquent and emotionally disturbed children at the progressive Hawthorne and Cedar Knolls schools.

THE URBAN SOUTH. Edited by Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, with the assistance of Sara Smith and Elizabeth M. Fink. North Carolina. $5. Nineteen social scientists lucidly describe the relation of urbanism to population change, industrialization, and the major political and social processes at work in the South at mid-century point.

GREENBELT: THE COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY. By George A. Warner. Exposition Press. $3.50. The social history, successes, and tribulations of Greenbelt, Maryland, America's first planned, cooperative—and all white—community are related enthusiastically by one of its original residents who later served as mayor.

MILTON L. BARRON.

Fiction

THE GREAT MAN. By Al Morgan. Dutton. $3.50. Staccato, one-sentence paragraphs in a familiar format of TV expose. Any more of this and there would not be any words at all. Just punctuation. But the novel is sharp. And tough. And funny. And sexy—an unlimited harem just waiting to be sampled like martinis. Al Morgan writes for radio and TV, and puts it all down for the record in his first book. Everyone will be talking about who the characters really are. Al Morgan knows the score.

OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN. By Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown. $3.75. What has happened to Evelyn Waugh? The acid pen becomes blunted in this meandering novel of British military incompetence. Mr. Waugh's aristocrats are still at odds with a depraved mass world, but seem no more attractive than their antagonists.

THE MAGNIFICENT ENEMIES. By Edgar Maass. Scribner's. $3.95. A fine historical novel recreating the Hanseatic League of the Middle Ages and the movement of idealistic freebooters who challenged it. Mr. Maass is a neat, effective writer who knows his material; his new book is both romantic and intelligent.

THE MAN IN THE GRAY FLANNEL SUIT. By Sloan Wilson. Simon and Schuster. $3.50. A problem novel of a young man's integrity in a high-priced business jungle, where the only talent that counts is the talent to "sell yourself." Much of Mr. Wilson's book is devoted to abstracting pressures and alternatives; he seems preoccupied with the problem at the expense of his story.

THE EXCHANGE OF JOY. By Isabel Quigly. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Fragile, Jamesian narrative in an ecstatic love story complete with sunny Italy, an Italian poet named Archangel, and a bitter-sweet ending. Miss Quigly writes subtly and brilliantly; her next novel may have something to say.

SHOW OF FORCE. By Stewart Thomson. Harper. $3.50. Violence and hate makes this a powerful novel of the Middle East. Despite occasional cliche (example: "You're not really so tough and hard boiled as you'd have people believe"), Mr. Thomson etches character and situation in taut, driving prose.

LEAVEN OF MALICE. By Robertson Davies. Scribner's. $3.50. Clever people and silly people in a Canadian college town, thrown into a turmoil when a practical joker puts a phony engagement notice in the local paper. Some very funny moments and effective caricature.

STANLEY COOPERMAN.

Aubade

That is dawn, that light in the west.
brighter than lead dropping scalding on the eye,
breaking the day of silence on the nest
untenanted—and strewn from the naked tree

or atomized. Across the new white land
no bough holds any dew, or leaf, nor must
any angled arm of wood make shadow; wind
must not stir the unreflecting, hanging atom dust

in that white land of final dawn. If we,
my loving flesh, could but prolong our night!
But no cloud crosses the coming of the light;
no birdsong shrieks that instant breaking,

that day of terrible mind. In a granule, borne by
a wheel grun? shield clank? clatter of chariot wheel?
on covert pistons slipping steady lechery?
Will silver hollow whistling sky fish carry it?

Or will some draftsman, coat on a nail,
switching his steel-beaked compass, setting a thumb-screw,
drain the last black drop? What bestial hand, like mine,
will turn the last dial to the point marked TRUE—

searing the skyline with a flameless fire,
powdering all the antique ways of blood,
cauterizing bed and loin and mire
and drying dark in dawn's pure, pure still flood?

JUDSON JEROME

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Records

B. H. Haggin

ONE of the pleasures of the London recording of Handel's "Messiah" was the beautiful harpsichord playing of George Malcolm. Subsequently London issued a record with a number of his outstanding performances of Scarlatti sonatas, which for some reason it kept a secret from reviewers and thus from the public. Now London LD-9187 offers his performances of Bach's Italian Concerto and Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, in which again he produces with a lovely-toned harpsichord structures of sound at once delicate and strong—their strength being in part that of the tensions of phrasing which give continuity to the ornamented melody of the wonderful slow movement of the concerto and the improvisatory flourishes and declamation of the superb fantasy. And it is remarkable what energy Malcolm gives to the fast movements of the concerto, what power to the climaxes of the fugue, without forcing or pounding his instrument.

One of the finest of Handel's instrumental works, best known as the Sonata No. 4, but actually Op. 1 No. 13 for violin and figured bass, is on Capitol P-8315, performed with beautiful simplicity and impressive breadth in the sustained cantilena by Milstein and Balsam. Also on the record are Vitali's Chaconne, which sounds to me as though it was fancied up by a nineteenth-century "editor"; and Prokofiev's Sonata Op. 94, which still seems to me a facile work, with however one superb episode in the finale—the powerful passage reminiscent of the opening of Bach's Organ Toccata in C. Treble must be drastically reduced for agreeable sound.

I am unable to check whether the Handel Double Concerto in F for two groups of winds, strings, and harpsichord on Telefunken LGM-65022 is the same work as the Concerto in F for strings and winds on Haydn Society 1049, as I suspect it is from the fact that it sounds familiar and is, like the other, a work evidently intended for outdoor performance and utilizing sections from the oratorios. In any case it is highly enjoyable, and is played with suitable fullness and richness of sonority by the Berlin Chamber Orchestra under Hans von Benda.

Except for two engaging Galliards by Dowland I find the pieces on Bach Guild 548, "Renaissance and Baroque Music for Lute and Guitar," uninteresting; and Karl Scheit's performances on the guitar are unexciting.

An unfamiliar work of Lully, his "Miserere," on Oiseau-Lyre DL-53003, turns out to have beautiful and moving passages, and is sung very beautifully by Margaret Ritchie and Elsie Morison, sopranos, Alfred Deller, counter-tenor, Richard Lewis and William Herbert, tenors, and Bruce Boyce, baritone, with choral and instrumental groups under Anthony Lewis.

The excerpts from the unfamiliar "Hippolyte et Aricie" of Rameau on Oiseau-Lyre OL-50034 are pleasant but unimpressive. They are sung well by Claudine Verneuil, Genevieve Moizan, Flore Wend, and Raymond Amade with chorus and orchestra under Desormiere.

Bach's Cantatas Nos. 170, "Vergnuegte Ruh'," and 54, "Wiederstehe doch der Suende," on Bach Guild 550, turn out to be two more of these works that I find uninteresting; but Alfred Deller's inflection of his counter-tenor in the long phrases of the arias is extraordinary (his singing of the recitatives lacks declamatory force). He also sings the *Angus Dei* from the B Minor Mass. The instrumental group is the excellent Leonhardt Baroque Ensemble.

Telefunken LGX-66023 offers Schumann's great song-cycle "Dichterliebe" and five other songs, including the lovely "Mondnacht," "Der Nussbaum," and "Die Lotosblume," sung beautifully by the tenor Anton Dermota, but with inadequate playing of the piano parts by Hilde Dermota.

Curious about what sort of performance of Stravinsky's "Petrushka" Ormandy produced with the Philadelphia Orchestra on Columbia ML-5030, I found that it brought to mind Virgil Thomson's observation once that the playing of the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky seemed to be mostly about the playing of the Boston Symphony. That is, it was a performance not of "Petrushka" but of the various opulent sounds which the score provided the occasion for Ormandy to produce with the orchestra. "Le Sacre du printemps" is on the reverse side.

Two hearings of Prokofiev's Piano Sonata No. 9, played by Menahem Pressler on MGM E-3192; have left me with the impression of a contrived work of the kind that Prokofiev's technical equipment could turn out, and even make effective at times, while he was asleep. Pressler plays the fast sections well; but in the slow portions his playing occasionally resembles Horowitz's in its exaggerated affetuoso style.

My experts who recommend the Thorens E-53/PA motor still do so, but add that someone who can afford the additional $30 for the new Garrard 301 should pay it for its greater steadiness.

NEXT WEEK

Studies in Coexistence

Edgar Snow will review a group of new books on Red China and will analyze the recent change in American and English attitudes toward that country.

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Letters

A Plea for Mercy

Dear Sirs: I am writing to you because I feel that you and your readers can help save a man's life. My husband, Jacob Mindel, nearly 74 years of age, ill with progressive heart disease and complicated chronic stomach disease, is today in prison serving a two-year sentence under the Smith Act. My husband is known as a Marxist scholar of long standing, but since 1948 his illness has compelled him to lead a quiet life at home.

My husband was not charged with a single overt act, yet he has been in prison since January of this year. At my husband's age and in his condition of health, his two-year term is in reality a life term, a cruel and unusual punishment which the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution forbids. I urge that your readers write to the Chairman, Federal Parole Board, 101 Indiana Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., asking for prompt parole for Jacob Mindel.

MRS REBECCA MINDEL
Bronx, N. Y.

Democracy and Organization

Dear Sirs: Mr. Seidenberg's article, The Sense of the Future, in the August 20 issue jerks us out of our laissez faire armchairs and lifts us to to high vision. But—after this treat—must Mr. Seidenberg bring us down and leave us in a swamp of dismal questions about man's inexorable fate in a world devoid of a future because it is organized? More in key if he had come up with Lilienthal's tremendous conviction (born of hard experience), which he expressed in February, 1947: "I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any threats that lie ahead, provided only that we practice it in our daily lives."

More in key if Seidenberg had gone on to examine just what it is that "organizes" people. It is mental. Can we have team spirit unless convinced of something? Isn't organization simply a system of attitudes? (Not a structure.) Isn't the structure just the means of sustaining that conviction? We need not fear organization—but we need to understand it.

FRANCIS GOODELL
Yarmouthport, Mass.

More Laurels for Lawyers

Dear Sirs: Your reference in Off the Editors' Spike of August 20 to the death of Philadelphia lawyer Earl Harrison and to the dynamic part which lawyers have played in the preservation of civil liberties is strangely remiss in not mentioning the role of the Philadelphia bar, which has been preeminent. Staid conservative corporation lawyers have joined with flamboyant "liberal" attorneys in Philadelphia to uphold personal rights.

In addition to the late Earl Harrison, at least two Philadelphia lawyer deserved special mention. Lois G. Forer, the wife of Morris L. Forer, one of the city's leading corporate attorneys, has crowded into an active life in government, politics, and social service, advocacy in some of the most important civil-liberties cases of the last ten years. She is a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and deputy attorney general of the state of Pennsylvania. The other is Thomas D. McBride, president of the Philadelphia Bar Association. A criminal lawyer of great eminence, he was chief counsel for the Smith Act defendants and also lawyer in a number of leading cases. Mrs. Forer and Mr. McBride were organizers of the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Union.

JANICE WOOSTER
Upper Darby, Pa.

Downes and Casals

Dear Sirs: Musicians and music lovers mourn the loss of Olin Downes, whose pen so creatively recaptured for his readers the great moments in musical performances. But thousands of us also cherish his memory for his untiring and fearless espousal of progressive causes, among them that of Republican Spain. At this moment one's heart goes out to a superb musician and a man of unfaltering integrity, Pablo Casals, self-exiled from his native Spain in Prades, France. For between Senor Casals and Olin Downes there must have existed a double bond—music and the temporary eclipse of Spanish democracy.

Some time ago, in an English newspaper, Senor Casals appealed for funds to aid his sick or impoverished compatriots in exile who cannot or will not return to Franco's Spain. It would seem fitting at this time to honor Olin Downes by extending help to the compatriots of a great musician self-exiled in protest against the fascist capture of his native soil. However modest our offerings, I know they will be welcomed by Senor Pablo Casals, who may be addressed in care of the Post Office, Prades, France.

MURIEL I. SYMINGTON
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Not "Subversive"

Dear Sirs: The July 30 issue of The Nation contains a review by Professor Frederick L. Schuman of three recent books on the United Nations, including "The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security" by Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons. In his review of our book Professor Schuman states that "a few years ago" I "regarded any criticism of American foreign policy and of collective security as 'subversive.'" I think that Professor Schuman would have some difficulty in documenting that statement. Presumably he refers to a review which I wrote of his "International Politics" (4th edition) which appeared in The American Political Science Review of February, 1949. While I was critical of this particular edition on the ground that it lacked proper objectivity, no disinterested person, I feel confident, reading this review would find in it support for the sweeping statement that Professor Schuman makes.

LELAND M. GOODRICH.
New York, N. Y.

Professor Schuman's Reply

Dear Sirs: It is good to know from his letter, as well as from his new book, that Professor Leland M. Goodrich no longer regards criticism of collective security and of United States foreign policy as subversive. As to whether he ever did, he is right in assuming that my comment was based on the review of his which he mentions. Here he wrote that the volume in question "comes close to accepting the Marxist interpretation of history," and displays "a definitely prejudiced attitude . . . more appropriate to political agitation and special pleading than to a textbook." I concluded from this, as well as from his other writings of the time, that his animus was due to the attitude I described. He no longer has this attitude. If he never had it, all the better. I extend apologies and congratulations. His new book, written jointly with Anne P. Simons, is, as I originally asserted, an invaluable, fully documented, and erudite analysis of U. N. procedures for pacific settlement. I warmly urge all readers of The Nation to buy it and ponder its message.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.
Berkeley, Calif.

Thanks from an Author

Dear Sirs: Please accept my thanks and congratulations on Alan Barth's review appearing in The Nation, August 13, of my little book, "The Private Diary of a Public Servant." It is very discerning and fair.

MARTIN MERSON.
Philadelphia, Pa.

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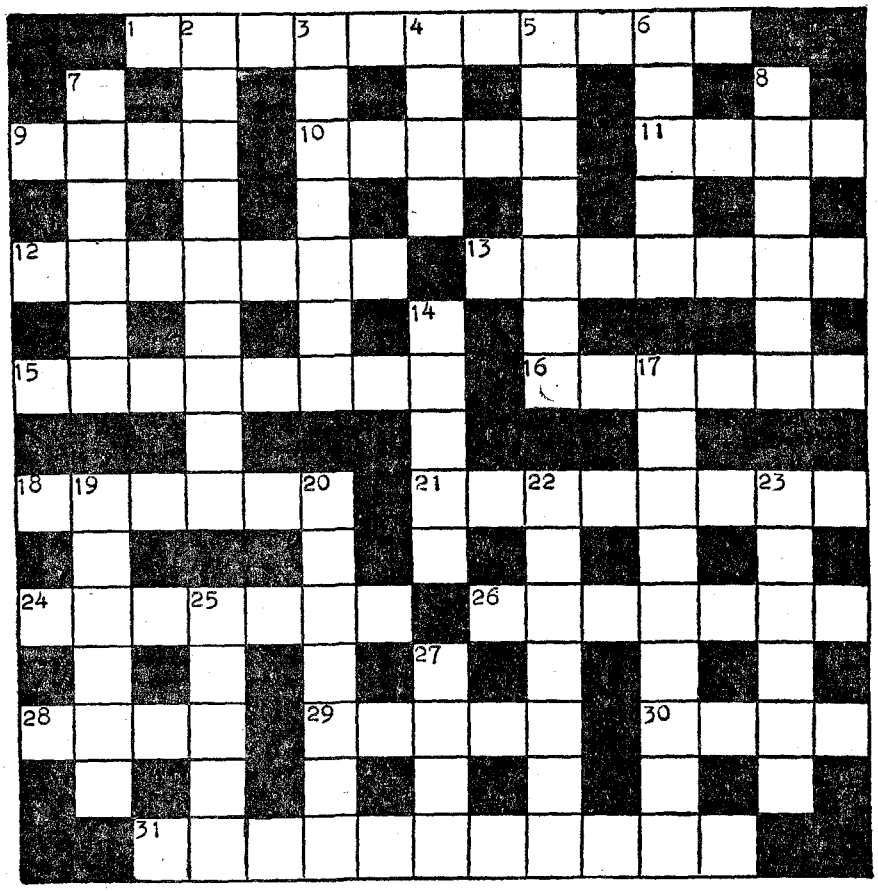
Crossword Puzzle No. 636

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Lie on a sort of it about Shylock's money — such things will teach you a lesson. (11)
9 and 25 down Bear but little — it should be capable of quite a downpour. (4,5)
10 and 8 down There could be lots of force behind dammed streams, by the looks of them. (11)
11 Barked unexpectedly? (4)
12 How to make the pastry top covered all over. (3-1-3)
13 Frank might get put on so! (7)
15 Passed around the back-ground, when harsh. (8)
16 Strong-appearing vehicle with sign of decay on the outside. (6)
18 Not condiments when cut! (6)
21 See 3 down
24 Hard for a female insect. (7)
26 Such things should be full of wind. (7)
28 In, or of, metal. (4)
29 Gets the rest, as I would the French. (5)
30 and 19 down Intoxicated and abstemious at the same time. (4,3,3)
31 Naivete of the ransacked Louvre. (11)

DOWN

2 Where one would expect the dig to be playful, if you're suffering from malaise. (9)
3 and 21 What Caesar granted the Gaulish petitioners? (7,8)
4 Spoken like a dolt! (4)
5 A cold's terrible if this shows up! (7)
6 A place like our uncle runs. (5)
7 A poet might suit an orator to a T. (6)
8 See 10 across
14 Leather that shows up in pieces. (5)
17 They might make him be less of a nuisance on the surface. (9)
19 See 30 across.
20 Marked by the beam. (7)
22 He manages to have a quality of redness in Washington. (7)
23 Even a free current should have it. (6)
25 See 9 across
27 Marks a positive 23. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 635

ACROSS: 1 E PLURIBUS UNUM; 10 PAINT; 11 SUSPICION; 12 SUCCULENT; 13 SHUTE; 14, 18 and 2 THE TALE OF THE KALENDAR PRINCE; 19 STANDARD TIME; 22 REELS; 24 SUSPENDED; 25 BEDWARMER; 26 ELITE; 27 PREPOSSESSING. DOWN: 3 UNTOUCHED; 4 INSPECTOR; 5 UPSET; 6 UNITS; 7 UBIQUITY; 8 SPASM; 9 ANGERED; 15 LOTUS TREE; 16 OHMMETERS; 17 ASCRIBE; 20 ADRIAN; 21 ADLER; 23 SHARP; 24 SUMPS.

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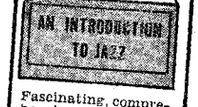

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